



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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16 September 1992

Daily Report

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FBIS-AFR-92-180

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Republic of South Africa

On his arrival in Johannesburg from Lusaka, SAPA reported that ANC President Nelson Mandela said he was "prepared to meet the state president on condition Mr. F.W. de Klerk gave undertakings on three key issues...the fencing off of hostels, banning public display of dangerous weapons and the release of political prisoners." Mandela said that if the state president made these undertakings, it would help Mandela to "convince everybody around me to meet the government so that we can try to address the problems facing the country". Government officials have welcomed Mandela's "conciliatory" stand.

SAPA reported that general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Chris Hani, is being treated for a "glandular disorder". SACP National Executive Committee member Essop Pahad said that the malady was "not serious" and asked the media "not to make a big thing of it."

Zambia

In an interview at State House broadcast by Lusaka radio, ANC President Nelson Mandela reaffirmed the necessity of nationalizing the South African economy. He said that "although nationalization is unpopular, it was to some extent inevitable, considering South Africa's economic background where the minority whites own 98 percent of the country's resources." He added that "there is need for government to exert some influence on the economy...to include [the other] 85 percent of the population."

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

FBIS-AFR-92-180
16 September 1992

Mandela Cites Preconditions for Meeting De Klerk

*MB1509182292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1716 GMT 15 Sep 92*

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 15 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela returned from Zambia on Tuesday [15 September] night and confirmed he was prepared to meet the state president on condition Mr. F. W. de Klerk gave undertakings on three key issues.

They are the fencing off of hostels, banning public display of dangerous weapons and the release of political prisoners.

"If he makes an undertaking and stipulates the time-frame within which he will implement those undertakings, we will be prepared to consider them," Mr. Mandela told reporters at Johannesburg's Lanseria Airport.

Mr. Mandela said it was not up to him to define this time-frame.

There was a "crucial" need for a meeting with Mr. de Klerk because "an agreement between the government and the ANC is vital for the peaceful move forward".

Mr. Mandela said if Mr. de Klerk made the three undertakings, it would help him to "convince everybody around me to meet the government so that we can try to address the problems facing the country".

Government Welcomes Statement

*MB1609071892 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 0500 GMT 16 Sep 92*

[Text] We open this bulletin with reaction from the main political spectrum to ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela's more conciliatory approach to the resumption of negotiations. The government, the National Party [NP], and the Democratic Party have welcomed the development, but the Inkatha Freedom Party has responded cautiously.

Mr. Mandela reaffirmed his commitment to talks with State President F. W. de Klerk during an interview with newsmen last night on his return from a visit to Zambia. Mr. Mandela said all he wanted from President De Klerk was the undertaking that the ANC's three most important demands were met. These were the release of political prisoners; the question of hostels; and the carrying of dangerous weapons.

The government spokesman welcomed what he called the positive and conciliatory tone of Mr. Mandela's statement. The government trusted that Mr. Mandela's attitude would also be reflected in the actions and statements of other ANC leaders.

The NP described as progress Mr. Mandela's statement that only three matters needed the state president's attention. The NP said Mr. Mandela's willingness to

accept undertakings from Mr. De Klerk in good faith, in contrast to the attitude of the ANC-SACP [South African Communist Party] alliance during their mass action a month ago, was a step in the right direction.

The Democratic Party said the ANC leader's reasonable attitude should be reciprocated by everyone concerned about the well-being of South African society. [passage omitted]

Mandela Interviewed on Talks, Other Issues

*MB1509115592 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
15 Sep 92 p 13*

[Interview with African National Congress President Nelson Mandela by Richard Steyn and Shaun Johnson; place not given; first paragraph is newspaper's introduction]

[Text] Shortly before his departure for Zambia, ANC [African National Congress] president Nelson Mandela gave a wide-ranging interview to THE STAR's Editor-in-Chief, Richard Steyn, and Political Editor Shaun Johnson. In it, he made clear that he believes South Africa stands at a critical point in its history, and that he and President F.W. de Klerk are called upon to pull the country back from the brink. He made an impassioned plea to the Government to meet the ANC's concerns—and said the organisation would respond in kind to such a gesture. Pressed on controversial issues including the Bisho massacre, mass action, the economy, interim government, the role of the SACP [South African Communist Party] and the resumption of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] the ANC leader spoke openly and frankly to THE STAR. Extracts from this important interview are published on this page today.

On the prospects for the summit

I think that in spite of the fact that we came very near to a disaster (after the Bisho massacre), the more that we have now jointly made—myself and Mr de Klerk—has saved the country from that disaster. We welcome Mr de Klerk's move, because whatever has been said by Pik Botha, this move of Mr de Klerk's is nevertheless calculated to break the deadlock.

Our concentration is on the installation of democracy in the country, and for this, compromises become absolutely essential. That is why I decided to respond as I did. I first had doubts as to whether I should act, because Mr de Klerk's invitation had its propagandistic elements, but people have died. The biggest question is how we are going to avoid a repetition of Bisho.

Of course there are certain preconditions, and I hope you will regard these as reasonable. The Government agreed to act on the hostels, political prisoners and dangerous weapons. This they can do without meeting us.

On our part we are going to co-operate, and I hope Mr de Klerk is going to co-operate. My message to the Government is: make good on the undertakings you have given to us and Mr Cyrus Vance. We are not challenging here, not demanding. It is our deep concerns we have put forward.

What has happened now is that the negotiations process has lost credibility, has become discredited. You must realise it was a heated debate within the ANC when we decided to suspend armed struggle and to negotiate. But we convinced one another then. Now my people are beginning to say to me: "What was the value? Let's abandon negotiations, they will never be able to take us to our goal."

I am saying, therefore, it is urgent that the Government makes some visible, practical move to restore the credibility of negotiations. And once the Government does that, by moving just on these three points, we are prepared to reconsider the whole question of having pulled out of negotiations.

On how progress at the summit can change the political atmosphere

If Mr de Klerk can just say to me: "You have expressed your three concerns. I give you my undertaking that I will address them ..." I have said to him we have identified 120 political prisoners. Just add 80, and release them, and give me an undertaking that the rest will be released in the next two months. Give me a date on which hostels will be fenced and secure them. Give me an undertaking that within a month or two we will be able to ban dangerous weapons.

I will be able to go back to my people and say: "Look, he has met us. Let us meet him." We would then be able to ask ourselves the question whether, in that particular atmosphere, we should continue with mass action.

On when mass action will stop and sanctions will be dropped

Anything is possible, even the suspension of mass action. When you negotiate you must be prepared to compromise. But that compromise must not undermine your own position. It must be seen as an effort to move forward, to pull South Africa out of this quagmire. Therefore, if the Government does something visible to show that they are now prepared to negotiate in good faith, there will be no necessity for mass action.

If at Codesa 2 in May this year the Government had agreed that an interim government of national unity had to be introduced say within six or 12 months, if they had just made that agreement, there would have been no need for mass action.

An interim government is going to represent us all, and the ANC is not going to have mass action against itself. We will be in government, the ANC will be fully represented like all other political parties. There will be no question of mass action. There will be no question of

sanctions. There will be no question of isolating South Africa. South Africa will go back to the United Nations—we will be saying this. All that will remain are the arms and oil embargoes, to be lifted as soon as a democratic constitution is accepted. But even on that there can be compromise.

The point is that if an interim government is introduced, these conflicts fall away.

On whether Bisho has shocked politicians into pulling back from the abyss

I cannot speak for the Government, but I can speak for our alliance.

From our side, we are trying to push the country away from that horror. We are trying to give South Africans of all colours hope that the democrats in this country are able to deal with the situation, to acknowledge their mistakes, and to be able to work together to ensure that whatever errors were committed are not repeated.

I give that assurance today from our side.

On the urgency of the summit

We haven't got much time. The next elections are in 1994. The economy is falling to pieces, and that we cannot afford. I have been talking to businessmen. We have to come up with strategies that give the country and investors hope that we are working together to ensure that our economy is not destroyed.

I have a special interest in this. Of the seven million unemployed, the overwhelming majority are blacks. We are sitting on a time-bomb. The youths in the townships have had over the decades a visible enemy, the Government. Now that enemy is no longer visible, because of the transformation that is taking place. Their enemy now is you and me, people who drive a car and have a house. It's order, and it is a very grave situation.

Now it is absolutely necessary to us, bearing in mind Derek Keys's frightening analysis (of the state of the economy), that this summit takes place as soon as possible. I sincerely hope that Mr de Klerk is going to make sure that those problems are addressed. I appeal to him to do so.

On whether Codesa should be restructured

I am dead against a restructuring of Codesa. If we do that we will waste another year arguing about what form it should take. There are many organisations, not political parties, which have asked for representation at Codesa—the churches for example. We said no. If we allow representation for you, COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Union], the churches and all other organisations, it can't work.

We must go back to Codesa exactly as it is in terms of structure, with more political parties hopefully joining in. We would welcome all political parties being added to the process. That is not restructuring.

On the state of the economy

We want to break the deadlock, because if we don't I fear that the economy is going to be so destroyed that when a democratic government comes into power it will not be able to solve it. The longer it takes for democracy to be introduced, the more difficult it will be to repair the economy.

I have always known this to be the case, but on Friday I got a briefing from Trevor Manuel after he met Derek Keys. He brought a statement from Keys which is well-considered, and spells out in detail the actual state of our economy. And I got frightened. Before Trevor finished I said to him: "Now what does this mean as far as negotiations are concerned?" Because it appears to me that if we allow the situation to continue, we are going to face the prospect that even when we have introduced a democratic system and are able to organise resources from abroad, it will still be very difficult to repair our economy.

On the role and concerns of business

I believe business must take positions. We have said to the Government we are prepared for the adoption of the constitution by a two-thirds majority, and we even went up to 70 percent. The Government wanted 75 percent and we could not agree. I say to business, take a position. If you think we are wrong, say so. If you think the Government is wrong, tell them.

We say we are well aware of the concerns of whites in this country, which are genuine, if mistaken. We are prepared for checks and balances, but that must be done in a constituent assembly. I would like to remove the concerns of business. There is the potential for co-operation. One has to be very, very careful not to use rhetoric that is going to frighten people, but rather to enable people to have confidence that we have a workable strategy—however, difficult the situation is.

I think business has generally responded very responsibly during the period of mass action. I have thanked them for that, and I have told my own supporters my view. I said we have had co-operation, and therefore we must avoid any attitudes of hostility or actions which will further damage the economy—given that business must understand that if there is no progress in negotiations, mass action is the only alternative available to us. I am hopeful that we will be able to resolve these problems.

On why the ANC insists on mass action

One of the mistakes that has been made by both the ANC and the National Party is that we have embarked on an electioneering campaign while we are negotiating. One party is talking to the other while at the same time trying to undermine that party. Now that destroys the whole atmosphere of negotiations.

But I have explained that we must have free political activity, and the efforts we have made to ensure that. In

addition it is quite clear that the Government is now fighting an electoral campaign, and that they are using the homelands as areas where they can start with maximum votes, where they have no competition.

Look at our situation. We have done everything in our power. We are left with two years (before elections). We must make sure that all political parties can operate throughout the country. If we can't make progress as far as negotiations are concerned, if we can't make progress in discussions with the bantustan leaders affected, what are we expected to do? We can't sit down and fold our arms. The ordinary people in these particular areas want action.

On the limits of acceptable mass action

We are very concerned about the situation, but as I've said, we cannot just fold our arms. However, while the regions can take decisions, they must always keep in mind the national perspective.

Nothing should be done by the organisation which suggests that we now want to violate the parameters of the National Peace Accord or the guidelines of the Goldstone Commission. And in the last meeting of the NEC [national executive committee] I stressed this point, as I did in King William's Town the day after the massacre. We must be seen to respect the structures that have been created, and the guidelines.

We do not feel that the mere launching of mass action in itself is anything which needs to worsen the position—no. The masses of the people, the overwhelming majority, want the right to operate in their own area. And they have been prevented by Gqozo. I am saying, therefore, that as far as we are concerned, we will make sure that in this volatile atmosphere we will not do anything that is likely to worsen the situation. But we must do something when people are being persecuted in these areas, when there is no democracy there. Can we be expected to do anything else?

On whether the Bisho marched crossed the line between protest and insurrection

Regional leaders must always consider what effect their actions will have on the country as a whole. Now our image has been affected to some extent by what happened in Bisho. Even some of our loyal friends locally and internationally have got reservations about what we did in that demonstration. But you must understand that what happened in Bisho has not been the pattern of mass action. On August 5 I led the march on Pretoria. It was disciplined and the police said the crowd behaved magnificently. That was the position throughout the country generally, although there were exceptions where there was intimidation and looting. When this was drawn to my attention I actually went to these areas to see businessmen, to apologise. But generally speaking, we are able to control our people.

Now we said we were going to occupy Bisho. Remember that we occupied the Union Buildings, actually hoisted our flag. There was no interference from Mr de Klerk or his police. He was completely relaxed. After I had left he came out and addressed the press, complimented me for my conciliatory speech.

On Ronnie Kasrils's actions

Our concern is not primarily the actions of individuals. What we are concerned with is what can we do to prevent a repetition of what happened at Bisho? And in that context we are discussing, therefore, what individuals have done.

But you must also remember that I actually asked the secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, the head of the Women's League, Gertrude Shope, Steve Tshwete, the man who has normalised sport, to go down and lead that demonstration. Now the concentration is on Ronnie Kasrils, which is not really the proper perspective.

You must also remember that the idea of the march, to which we all agreed, was that just as we did in Pretoria, we would do the same in Bisho.

That was not the decision of Ronnie Kasrils, it was ours. Therefore his judgment may not have been a correct one, to go beyond the stadium once the magistrate had said we should not, but the idea of us going to Bisho was a decision of the organisation which he was merely carrying out.

But I can assure you that this is a matter that we are going to examine very carefully. Ronnie Kasrils and Chris Hani are very loyal members of the ANC who have made tremendous sacrifices. Secondly, they are disciplined. If I were to say there should be no further (independent) statements by anybody (on behalf of the ANC), and this was the decision taken regarding future demonstrations, I will get their maximum support.

On who was to blame at Bisho, and what is to be done now

There have been accusations and counter-accusations, some correct and others incorrect, from both sides. But leaving this aside, we still have to answer the question: has the ANC any strategy to pull South Africa out from the morass in which decades of apartheid generally, and this massacre in Bisho particularly, have plunged it?

Now it seems to me that we should not worry very much at this stage with what mistakes individuals have made. The crucial question is how to mobilise the democratic forces in the country to concentrate on the task of saving South Africa. I am talking about neither the ANC nor the Government, but we, the people of South Africa, black and white.

Our problem is that Brigadier Gqozo ignored the guidelines for demonstrations. The guidelines say that even if one party deviated from an agreement in the course of a

march, the other party is not entitled to use force unless it is threatened. They must meet during the march. Gqozo was not prepared to talk to us right from the beginning. He violated the peace accord right from the beginning. The marching out of the stadium towards Bisho was not actually a violation of the peace accord itself. But even if it was, then the task of the other party was to have called us and discussed it—just as has happened in other areas.

On 'radicals' and 'moderates' within the ANC

It is not correct to say that there is a conflict between radicals and moderates in the ANC although I fear it could develop (in circumstances like those at Bisho).

But you can be assured that we will be addressing any statements which were made which might have been harmful to the cause of democracy in this country generally, and that of the ANC in particular. We will not be seen to be doing anything which is a violation of the National Peace Accord or the Goldstone guidelines.

On pressure within the ANC

(If we cannot secure free political activity) I am going to face a situation in which it becomes increasingly difficult to resist the demands of my own people to arm and defend themselves. You know, when I went to Boipatong, I was met with placards "Mandela, give us guns". And these were not coming from the youth, but elderly people, members of the branch.

Then I went to the rally, and I went round as I normally do to greet people. And the song they were singing was "Mandela, you behave like a lamb while we are being killed" I had to make a speech there to say I had noted what they were saying.

Now if we don't do something visible to show that we are fighting against oppression, those who are demanding the resumption of the armed struggle are going to prevail. Mass action is actually a peaceful form of channelling the anger of the people—for us to say we don't need armed struggle, we can make progress through mass action.

You must understand that mass action is being used today throughout the democratic world, and by people who have the vote. We haven't got the vote. What else can we do?

On political control of the security forces

As you know, very late on May 15 at Codesa 2 I went to see Mr de Klerk. I said to him: "The whole of South Africa and the world is looking upon you and I. Let us save the peace process. Let us reach some agreement. Let us leave the door open and say we have made progress. We need to fix a date."

On that day he was adamant, he wouldn't listen to me. I was with Cyril Ramaphosa and he was with Roelf Meyer. (I complained that the police had not taken action

against an armed Inkatha demonstration) and he answered: "Mr Mandela, when you join me, you will realise I do not have the power which you think I have." That was his answer.

I was raising a serious question about people using violence in the presence of the police, and that was his answer. This is the kind of problem we are dealing with. If there is anything that has cooled relations between me and Mr de Klerk, it is his paralysis as far as violence is concerned. Because I believe he has got the capacity to put an end to the violence. That is the issue for me, and we need to resolve it.

NP Views Interview

*MB1609065392 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2024 GMT 15 Sep 92*

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 15 SAPA—The National Party [NP] welcomed Nelson Mandela's conciliatory tone but demanded action which would back up his words, NP Secretary-General Stoffel van der Merwe said on Tuesday [15 September] night.

He was commenting on the African National Congress president's interview with the Johannesburg-based THE STAR newspaper, published on Tuesday.

"The fact that he has indicated that as far as he is concerned there are only three remaining outstanding issues to be addressed by the state president before the leaders can meet, and the more realistic terms in which Mr Mandela defines these issues, is progress indeed," Dr Van der Merwe said in a statement.

Mr Mandela, in the exclusive interview, said to "save the country from disaster the ANC was eager to restart negotiations—and wanted to make it as easy as possible for the government to do so.

The government need not make any new concessions to the ANC to get talks underway again, Mr Mandela said. It had only to make good its previous undertakings to the ANC and the United Nations envoy Cyrus Vance on the issues of hostels, political prisoners and dangerous weapons.

Mr Mandela made it clear that if President F. W. de Klerk delivered on earlier promises, the ANC was ready to talk again.

He was prepared to accept undertakings in good faith from Mr de Klerk on the three outstanding issues in order to get South Africa "out of the quagmire".

Dr Van der Merwe said in reaction: "The fact that Mr Mandela now says that he is prepared to accept undertakings from the state president in good faith—in contrast to the attitude of the SACP [South African Communist Party]/ANC alliance during (their) mass action week a month ago—is a step in the right direction.

"However, Mr Mandela's pro-negotiation approach is in stark contrast to the shrill and threatening pro-mass

action stance adopted by the SA Communist Party in its press release of only two days ago when it accused the state president of murder by proxy and the government of conspiracy at Bisho.

"This Jekyll and Hyde face of the SACP/ANC alliance gives rise to some questions," Dr Van der Merwe said.

"Who is the public to believe? The reckless communist radicals in the ANC like Kasrils, Hani, Gwala and Cronin or the proponents of negotiation on whose behalf Mr Mandela apparently obviously talked in THE STAR?

"From day to day one wonders who has the upper hand," Dr Van der Merwe added.

"Unfortunately until we have answers to these questions, it will be difficult to assess what weight to give to his (Mandela's) remarks and to gauge whether Mr Mandela is genuine this time or whether this is merely an opportunistic reaction to pressure from the ANC's foreign financial backers which he can recant tomorrow.

"We need actions, rather than words, from the ANC—especially a return to negotiations."

DP Welcomes 'Conciliatory Approach'

*MB1509191292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1824 GMT 15 Sep 92*

[Text] Cape Town Sept 15 SAPA—The Democratic Party [DP] has welcomed the "conciliatory" approach made by African National Congress [ANC] leader Nelson Mandela in an exclusive interview published by the Johannesburg-based THE STAR newspaper on Tuesday [15 September].

In the interview Mr. Mandela said to "save the country from disaster" the ANC was eager to restart negotiations—and wanted to make it as easy as possible for the government to do so.

Mr. Mandela said the government need not make any new concessions to the ANC to get talks underway again, it had only to make good its previous undertakings to the ANC and the United Nations envoy Cyrus Vance on the issues of hostels, political prisoners and dangerous weapons.

Mr. Mandela made it clear that if State President F W de Klerk delivered on earlier promises, the ANC was ready to negotiate again.

In reaction to THE STAR interview, DP National Chairman Ken Andrew said: "We should welcome the conciliatory approach of Mr. Mandela... and use the opportunity to start building better relationships. His reasonable and statesmanlike attitudes should be reciprocated by everyone concerned about the well-being of our society."

Mr. Andrew said in sharp contrast were the "belligerent and confrontational utterances of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

"Its planned mass actions, stayaways and tax revolts will contribute little to successful negotiations but will instead simply heighten tensions and harm the economy."

Mr. Andrew said an important responsibility rested on the "shoulders of government to ensure that its words and actions encourage and strengthen the hands of those seeking peace and progress rather than ungovernability and insurrection".

IFP 'Cautious Comment'

MB1509202492 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2010 GMT 15 Sep 92

[Text] Durban Sept 15 SAPA—The Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] on Tuesday [15 September] offered cautious comment on African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela's overtures for a resumption of constitutional negotiations.

"The IFP is not inclined to believe that what is being taken as Mandela's conciliatory approach represents a sudden and genuine conversion to the politics of moderation and compromise," National Chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said in a statement.

Mr Mandela told THE STAR newspaper his organisation was ready to restart negotiations for a new political order if President F.W. de Klerk gave undertakings on political prisoners, dangerous weapons and hostels.

Dr Mdlalose said: "Suitable steps that must be taken to get us back to the negotiating table are, of course, to be welcomed. But let South Africans not make the mistake of thinking that a leopard can change its spots at will.

"The IFP is of the view that the ANC has quite simply bitten off more than it can chew, and is now reaping the rewards of intensely negative international and domestic criticism of its revolutionary agenda.

"It will take a great deal more than the rhetoric of compromise for the IFP to believe that the ANC is prepared to act in terms of the centrist politics, which alone can deliver the peace and democracy the rest of us are all desperate to achieve".

Dr Mdlalose accused the ANC of adopting a two-edged strategy, saying "we find it hard to reconcile regret over failed negotiations with a movement that has gone all-out to wreck the meaningful progress that was being reached at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]".

He said also that Mr. Mandela's concern over the state of the economy ran counter to ANC practices, ideologies and policies "that constitute an integral part of current economic decline".

While advocating peace, the ANC was continuing training cadres of its armed wing, Dr Mdlalose said. The IFP also found an anomaly in the ANCs stated desire for

freedom of expression with its alleged goal of overthrowing certain governments at variance with it.

SACP Chief Hani Ill With 'Glandular Problem'

MB1609122392 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1149 GMT 16 Sep 92

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 16 SAPA—SA [South Africa] Communist Party [SACP] chief Chris Hani is sick and being treated for a glandular problem, SACP NEC [national executive committee] member Dr. Essop Pahad said on Wednesday.

Mr. Essop, standing in for Mr. Hani at a speaking engagement at the Islamic Bank in Johannesburg, said Mr. Hani was not feeling well on Tuesday [15 September] night but "looked OK".

By Wednesday morning he was unwell and had to be treated by a doctor at his home.

Mr. Essop assured the 50 people who attended it was not a "very serious matter" and asked the press "not to make a big thing of it".

ANC Presses Ahead With Plans for KwaZulu March

MB1509183792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1805 GMT 15 Sep 92

[Text] Durban Sept 15 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] is pressing ahead with its planning for a march on Ulundi.

In spite of mounting pressure to call off the march for fears of massive bloodshed, Natal ANC leaders were adamant on Tuesday that they were still planning the controversial mass action.

The organisation on Tuesday called off its march on Bophuthatswana, scheduled for this weekend, and kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned that a march on Ulundi would spark civil war.

ANC Southern Natal Chairman Jeff Radebe said: "We are going ahead with our plan to march on Ulundi. We haven't called it off".

Southern Natal ANC Regional Secretary Sbu Ndebele however said the final decision would be taken at a "higher level" and the mass action would involve creative strategies.

It was not clear whether this meant the organisation was planning other activities should the national leadership decide that a march would be inappropriate.

Also on Tuesday, Mr. Justice Richard Goldstone responded with surprise to claims that the plans had been put on hold following his intervention, saying he had not yet even discussed the Ulundi march with the ANC.

Mr. Goldstone did confirm that he had discussed the ANC's proposed march on Bophuthatswana this weekend with ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa and had subsequently been told it would not take place. He had not, however, raised the Ulundi issue.

A spokesman for the Goldstone Commission said there was little it could do about the Ulundi march at this stage as no date had been fixed or details announced.

ANC head office spokesman Gill Marcus said the Bophuthatswana march, scheduled for Saturday, had been called off because proper plans had not been finalised.

The proposed march on Ulundi was still at a planning stage.

Mr. Radebe said the planning was being undertaken by the ANC's three Natal regional branches. No date or route had been fixed yet but "we are definitely going to press ahead".

He added that the march would have a national focus, but could not say at this stage who would lead it.

Mr. Radebe also reacted to Mr. Buthelezi's warning that an ANC march on Ulundi would be "the opening salvo...in the commencement of a South African civil war".

This, said Mr. Radebe, was another indication that the kwaZulu government was not willing to countenance freedom of expression, association or assembly north of the Tugela River.

Some other organisations and parties have urged the ANC to reconsider its plans to march on Ulundi. This pressure may give rise to discussion on the whole issue of mass action against homelands when the ANC National Working Committee meets in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

PAC Criticizes Mandela on Liberation Groups

*MB1509180692 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1747 GMT 15 Sep 92*

[Text] Cape Town Sept 15 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] believed it was counter-productive for one liberation movement to attack another outside the borders of South Africa, PAC Publicity Secretary Barney Desai said on Tuesday [15 September].

He was responding to statements by ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela, who accused the Organisation of African Unity and the Frontline States of creating problems in South Africa by treating all movements on an equal footing.

Speaking in Lusaka after talks with Zambian President Frederick Chiluba on Monday, Mr. Mandela said, in an obvious reference to the PAC, that "some South African liberation movements claimed to have big support after holding consultative talks with the OAU and the Frontline States—but this is not so".

Mr. Desai said the PAC was, in the words of its Deputy President Dikgang Mosenke, "a liberation movement in our own right and we will not be held to ransom by the so-called big brothers—the government and the ANC".

He said if the ANC and PAC had spoken with one voice as agreed at the Patriotic Front [PF] conference in October last year, "the headlong rush into Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], with such disastrous results" could have been avoided.

The PAC appealed for unity among the liberation movements to usher in democratic rule speedily and with a minimum of violence.

"Comrade Mandela must be a tribune of unity. The PF must come alive again."

Mr. Desai said the PAC looked forward to a meeting between its president, Clarence Makwetu, and Mr. Mandela.

A meeting between the two leaders scheduled to have taken place in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, last week was postponed in the aftermath of the Bisho massacre.

Police Give ANC Marchers Go Ahead

*MB1509152192 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1300 GMT 15 Sep 92*

[Text] Two United Nations observers have negotiated for an ANC [African National Congress] march in the western Transvaal to go ahead.

Police say the Schweizer-Reineke Town Council has given the ANC permission to march, following negotiations with two UN observers. However, the marchers will not be allowed to enter Schweizer-Reineke as originally planned.

This followed this morning's incident when police fired tear gas, and set dogs on the ANC marchers, where it moved out of Ipelegeng township toward the town. At least 28 people were reportedly bitten or injured in the ensuing stampede. Police say 17 people have been arrested. The UN observers are reportedly trying to secure their release.

Bophuthatswana Has 'No Intention' of Abdicating

*MB1609111192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0954 GMT 16 Sep 92*

[Text] Mmbatho Sept 16 SAPA—Bophuthatswana had no intention of abdicating in favour of the African National Congress [ANC], and it had the ability to protect itself, Bophuthatswana Minister of Economic, Energy Affairs, Mines and Planning Mr B. E. Keikelame said on Wednesday.

Speaking at an hotel management school function in Mmbatho, he said: "Let me state categorically that the government and our people as a nation are here to stay irrespective of the ill-advised hopes of certain political

organisations in South Africa, or the ill-informed opinions of certain elements of the media.

"Our detractors would have the world believe we are a despotic leadership intent on hanging on to power at all costs through the use of undemocratic measures.

"It saddens me that so many decent, intelligent people beyond our borders are taken in by the garbage churned out daily by the propaganda machines of our detractors.

"Having failed to steamroll their demands through at the negotiation table, our opponents have now resorted to the tired but extremely dangerous methods of the discredited communist revolutionaries—that of mass action.

"I want to state categorically once again, lest we be accused later of hiding our intentions, that we will not tolerate any action on our sovereign territory which is designed to disrupt law and order, or undermine our government.

"We have the ability to protect our sovereignty and we will do whatever is necessary should the need arise."

He said people and institutions which had historically been sympathetic to the ANC [African National Congress] were beginning to question the organisation's methods, and distance themselves from them.

The Bophuthatswana government welcomed the news that the ANC had dropped its planned march into Bophuthatswana on Saturday [19 September], and hoped the decision indicated its willingness to return to negotiations.

Holomisa on Killings of IFP Supporters

MB1509185192 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 15 Sep 92

[Telephone interview with Transkei's leader General Bantu Holomisa in Umtata by Robin White on the "Focus on Africa" program; date not given; first paragraph is studio introduction—recorded]

[Text] A shadow of suspicion has fallen on the authorities in the South African homeland of Transkei, following yesterday dawn killing of eight Inkatha supporters in neighboring Natal. The ambush was the fourth incident of its kind in the area in recent weeks. All of them have been carried out by men wearing camouflage uniform, using automatic weapons. Inkatha has pointed the finger at members of the Transkei Defense Force, claiming that guns are being supplied across the border to members of the ANC's [African National Congress] military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation]. On the line to Umtata, Robin White asked Transkei's military leader, General Bantu Holomisa, who is known as an ally of the ANC, how he reacted to the allegations.

[Holomisa] Well, first of all, one would expect South African Government, if they have complaints against Transkei, they would furnish such information to us. At the present moment, we have not received anything from the South African Government. Equally so, the president of Inkatha, who is also a chief minister of kwaZulu, if he has any complaint against the Transkei people or the government, he is also free to contact his minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, and then Pik Botha will channel whatever complaint he has to Transkei government. Then, we will immediately attend to that.

[White] But is the accusation true?

[Holomisa] I don't think the accusation has got any knowledge of the Transkei people, more especially the people in the government. [sentence as heard] One other thing which one has got to understand is that ANC and PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], when they operate inside South Africa, they don't recognize these boundaries of these homelands and so on and so on. You may find that, let us say, for instance, for argument's sake, that it was the cadres of the ANC who were operating there and then they ran back to Transkei or to the nearest villages and the people will just argue and say: this is part and parcel of South Africa. [sentence as heard] They don't all run to Transkei. So, it depends where the incident took place.

[White] Are you giving any military help to the armed wing of the ANC?

[Holomisa] We are not doing that.

[White] Are you giving them sanctuary in the Transkei?

[Holomisa] The military wing of the ANC was unbanned unconditionally in 1990 by both President de Klerk and Transkei government, unconditionally. So, those people are free to move around in Transkei and in South Africa, as they are doing right now.

[White] Are there any people undergoing, are there any supporters of the ANC or members of the ANC undergoing military training of any kind in the Transkei?

[Holomisa] At the present moment, we have no agreement whatsoever for the military bases of the liberation movements in Transkei, unlike in South Africa where the military wings of the right wing political parties are training openly and they are being displayed in state television and after that, they kill people as we have witnessed in the South Africa (?taxi) ranks. In Transkei, we have started to train the people in a compulsory training and that demand came from the nationals themselves, to the effect that, now that South Africa is hell bent on destabilizing Transkei and they want to overthrow Transkei, as they have done in 1990, we would have to be orientated, at least on the intelligence gathering and also on weapon handling. [sentence as heard] So, we are doing exactly that, as the South Africans whites, I repeat, as the South Africans are being given a compulsory training.

[White] So, this is a kind of military training that Transkeians are being given?

[Holomisa] Yes, we are giving them. It is going to continue and nobody will stop it. It will be stopped the day the compulsory training or conscription campaigns have been ended in South Africa. If whites are being trained by the Government of South Africa and that the right wing are training people publicly to kill blacks, we are not going to read Bibles and fold our arms. We are training our nationals.

[White] These are not ANC people who are being trained?

[Holomisa] No, no, no, no. Those are not ANC people. It is nationals' compulsory training in terms of our Defense Act of 1978.

[White] Now, if a war is going on next door to your, in Natal, and the ANC people are killing supporters of Inkatha, what is your attitude to that? Are you totally against that?

[Holomisa] I have condemned the use of violence in solving the problems of South Africa. I will continue to do so, as I am condemning it right now.

[White] Unequivocally?

[Holomisa] Yes.

Mass Action To Continue Under ANC Government

*MB1509181992 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1728 GMT 15 Sep 92*

[Text] Butterworth Sept 15 SAPA—Mass action will prevail even during an African National Congress [ANC] or South African Communist Party [SACP] government in the new South Africa, the SACP Transkei Secretary-General Mlungisi Ndamase said on Tuesday [15 September].

Speaking at a memorial service in Butterworth for those killed outside Bisho during the mass march a week ago, Mr Ndamase said mass action was the only vehicle available "to ferry the oppressed to a point where their demands could either be met or given a hearing".

He said mass action was not aimed at reviving Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa].

Mr Ndamase paid tribute to the ANC and SACP intelligence operatives who, on the day of the march to Bisho, allegedly overheard a radio message between the security forces describing how some leaders of the march were dressed.

He said arrangements were made to quickly have those identified change their clothes.

He also told the mourners gathered of about 1,000 inside the Msobomvu Hall that the figure of the dead had gone up to 40 and that there were more than 200 people who were injured.

This has been contradicted by other sources, who set the death toll at 28 ANC/SACP members and one Ciskei security force member, 29 in all.

Mr Ndamase said the SACP took "very strong exception" at the mutiny reported from Transkei two weeks ago.

"We can never be happy to see soldiers taking arms against a progressive government such as that of Transkei. There was no need for the soldiers to use arms in an effort to enforce their demands.

"We in the SACP say there is no justification of mutiny," Mr Ndamase said.

He said the SACP wanted to know the "programmes" of the soldiers who had now taken key positions in the Transkei Defence Force [TDF].

He also revealed that the SACP had written to the officers in the TDF, seeking clarification in this regard, "because we also have our own programme.

"We demand their reaction, we are not requesting it," said Mr Ndamase.

—the service was preceded by a march by about 500 people to the Kei Bridge border post, where a wreath was laid and a memorandum containing demands surrounding the Bisho incident was handed to a senior customs official.

Heavily armed members of the SA Defence Force and the SA Police accompanied by dog handlers were awaiting the arrival of the marchers, who were led by the ANC regional chairman in the Transkei, Mr David Ndwandwe.

There were no incidents and the marchers returned to the Transkei side after conducting a short prayer service.

DP Criticizes Calls for Further Stayaways

*MB1509154792 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1300 GMT 15 Sep 92*

[Text] The Democratic Party [DP] has slammed COSATU's [Congress of South African Trade Unions] call for further stayaways.

In a statement just released, the DP says the labor giant's call for intensified mass action heralds, in its words, another season of dark madness. The statement says COSATU and the Communist Party should stand aside and let people move peacefully and purposefully to democracy through the negotiations process.

The DP says mass action delays the process to full democracy and ensures more people will die before it is

achieved. The party says the victims of the Bisho massacre have not even been buried, but COSATU is calling for more mass action. The statement accuses the union federation of deliberately trying to stall negotiations and weaken the position of the ANC [African National Congress] leadership in the alliance.

CP Rejects Proposed Government Legislation

MB1609100092 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 16 Sep 92

[Text] The Conservative Party [CP] has rejected proposed legislation by the government to expedite the establishment of an interim government for South Africa.

The leader of the CP, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, said in Pietersburg that his party had held successful discussions with several black leaders and that its policy of a commonwealth of states had been favorably received. He warned the ANC [African National Congress] against adopting a menacing attitude towards conservative town councils saying that they would regret the move.

Role in Mozambican Peace Talks 'Good Idea'

MB1509202792 London BBC World Service in English 1830 GMT 15 Sep 92

[Telephone interview with Neil van Heerden, director general of the South African Foreign Ministry, in Pretoria, by Rashid Meer on the "Focus on Africa" program; date not given; first paragraph is studio introduction—recorded]

[Text] Reports [words indistinct] suggest that South Africa is going to be drawn into the deadlocked Mozambican peace process. Time is running out for the Chissano government and the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels to reach a peace agreement by 1 October deadline. It is being suggested that other parties should be brought into the mediation group at the Rome talks to speed things up. On the line to Pretoria, Rashid Meer asked the director general of the South African Foreign Ministry, Neil van Heerden, if he thought involvement in the Mozambican talks would be a good idea.

[Van Heerden] Yes, I think it is a good idea. We have a real interest in peace in Mozambique, for a variety of reasons, and if we were to be closer to the team assisting the settlement, we naturally would think that is a good idea.

[Meer] And what is the specific contribution you think South Africa can make?

[Van Heerden] Well, South Africa has over the last few hours worked very hard to establish its credentials and credibility, as it were, with the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] government in Maputo, through constant contact, through a variety of assistance programs, and we have also ... [changes thought] and I think we have very largely succeeded in doing that by also convincing President Chissano and his people that we were not participating in a partisan manner and that we were interested in peace in Mozambique and in nothing else. In that sense, I think, we qualified ourselves over time.

[Meer] But at the same time, you have been Renamo's main backer. Will you be bringing pressure to bear on Renamo to make sure that the agreement works?

[Van Heerden] South Africa has for a number of years not been involved with Renamo at all, and we have, as I said, worked hard to establish our credentials with the government in Maputo as well, and our credentials as a neutral observer and player in this equation. It has been felt in Maputo, we are aware of that, that South Africa, because of past history would be in a position to influence Renamo. Well, as it turned out in practice, when South Africa had ceased any sort of support for Renamo, that caused, as it were, the Renamo leadership to be very suspicious of contact with us and for a long time, we were not able to play any influencing role there at all.

[Meer] So, are relations between South Africa and Renamo particularly sour at the moment?

[Van Heerden] I would not say that they are sour. I think both sides, also Renamo, have accepted our bona fides in wanting to bring about a peaceful settlement. I think we are in a position [words indistinct] to make a constructive contribution.

Angola*** Police Chief Comments on Training, Goals**

*92AF1182C Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 9 Aug 92 p 4*

[Text] "The new Angolan police force must be capable of adjusting to the changes in the country in order to be able to carry out its work properly," Lieutenant General Andre Pitra ("Petroff"), the commander in chief of the police force, said yesterday.

Speaking at the conclusion of two training courses at the National Police School (Kapol), "Petroff" urged the new police force to carry out its duties without "prejudice against or favoritism toward this or that political party."

"Defending democratic legality, providing routine protection, guaranteeing the exercise of the citizens' rights to fundamental freedoms, and protecting state and collective property—these are the goals of the new police force," he added.

In the opinion of this official, preventing and combating crime and reestablishing authority where necessary are also tasks that fall to the new police corps.

The courses mentioned (the subject of one was emergency police work, commonly called rebellion repression, while the other was an intensive course) lasted 45 days. They were taught by Spanish and Angolan experts.

Participants in the intensive course included soldiers demobilized from the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola], the government force; and also the FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola], which is the UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] army. The emergency police course was attended by FAPLA soldiers, exclusively.

During their training, the students were taught "police techniques," "traffic," "military training," and "physical education," among other subjects.

Benguela—In Lobito on Thursday, 1,850 new members of the national police force completed the first intensive police training course.

During the 30 days of the course, there was a notable shortage of study materials, premises, and logistic resources, according to the report presented by the school administration at the closing ceremony.

The members of the new police force will in due time be assigned to the country's various provinces, where they will reinforce the process of maintaining public order and protecting the rights of the citizens.

Andre Pitra ("Petroff"), the commander in chief of the national police force, told the course participants at their graduation ceremony that they should maintain "an

objective attitude, ignoring regional and political backgrounds, because the role of a policeman cannot be reconciled with a political party role."

In the opinion of this official, the reason for the outrages committed in the country is that "there are citizens who think they can ignore the laws in effect and the rights of and legal provisions pertaining to the citizens." For this reason, he went on to say, "We will act with pride and firmness."

ANGOP [ANGOLAN PRESS AGENCY] has learned, moreover, that plans are already being made for a second police training course at this same school. The participants in this course will be individuals who were formerly with UNITA.

*** Institute: Economic Statistics Reported**

*92AF1182A Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 9 Aug 92 p 13*

[Text] The final figure for the balance of payments in the 1991 fiscal year was negative \$1.437 billion (a dollar is worth 550 new kwanzas), according to the preliminary estimates drafted by the National Bank of Angola and published by the National Statistics Institute (INE).

According to the INE, a comparison with the figures for the preceding years, in which there were negative balances of \$1.25 billion (1990), \$930 million (1989), and \$923 million (1988), reveals a trend toward a more acute situation in foreign payments for the country to deal with in the coming years.

On the other hand, the trade balance ended 1989 with a positive figure of \$2.08 billion, 10 percent less than in 1990.

Exports came to a total of \$3.427 billion (down 12 percent from the preceding year) because of the drop in the prices of crude oil, which accounts for about 92 percent of all foreign sales.

Meanwhile, FOB [free on board] import prices came to a total of \$1.347 billion, down 15 percent from the 1990 figure.

At the conclusion of the 1991 fiscal year, the services and assistance sector had a negative balance of \$615 million. This figure was similar to those for the preceding years, which were also negative—\$235 million (1990), \$132 million (1989), and \$468 million (1988).

These results demonstrate the continuity and progression in the deterioration of this balance.

The balance for unilateral (nonreimbursable) transfers was a positive figure of \$28 million, while the results for the preceding years were negative—\$77 million and \$4 million for 1990 and 1989, respectively.

Meanwhile, the balance for medium-term and long-term capital, essentially representing transactions involving

financial assets and liabilities, direct (net) foreign investments, and other (net) capital operations, ended 1991 with an overall negative figure of \$688 million in foreign exchange.

In 1986, according to the INE figures, the country entered into a financial cycle where short-term capital and defaults are concerned, one that was characterized by insufficient resources for foreign payments. And the result was to accelerate the trend toward short-term indebtedness.

In 1991, there was a negative balance of \$139 million.

The overall figure for the balance of payments, which reflects the movement in exports and imports of goods and services and unilateral and capital transfers, was \$1.473 billion. A comparison with the \$1.25 billion for the preceding year reveals an aggravation of the negative balance of 18 percent.

*** Lomaum Dam Restoration Progress Report**

*92AF1182B Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 11 Aug 92 p 5*

[Article by Adao Faustino: "Second Wind for Lomaum"]

[Text] Benguela—Jose Eduardo's visit yesterday to the Lomaum Dam, which is located in the municipality of Cubal (east of Benguela), marks a decisive advance in the rehabilitation of this major hydroelectric project. It had a production capacity of 45 megawatts of electricity, but the plant was repeatedly destroyed by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] in 1983 and 1984 during the war.

The rehabilitation plan, which will be implemented over 30 months, calls for increasing the plant capacity to 65 megawatts. This will make advantageous multisectorial development possible for the Provinces of Benguela, Huambo, and Bie.

In fact, an office for the reestablishment of the hydroelectric capacity of the Lomaum facility was established in March of 1988. Its assigned purpose was to provide the technical-administrative management for the completion of the project, with the participation of Portuguese Electric Company (EDP) technicians.

The initial budget estimate of \$51 million and 5,000 marks drafted in 1985 was recently increased by amounts which are not very substantial. However, these sums will make substantial coverage of the cost of the materials needed to rehabilitate the project possible.

Currently, based partially on the experience acquired and the installed technical capacity, the office for the reestablishment and expansion of the Lomaum hydroelectric facility is implementing a program for the organic restructuring of the investment sector of the enterprise. It will include the creation of a suboffice for investments.

Three project offices and one for each subsystem of the National Electricity Company (ENE) are among the operative units on the level of project execution.

On the other hand, this office has pursued its activities with a view to maximizing the domestic involvement and design component (in the ENE), and the management capacity required for the expansion of the system.

Achievements

Thanks exclusively to the work of this office, plans were drafted for the manufacture of metal structures to cover the buildings at the Lomaum facility over a total area of 2,100 square meters. Industrial facilities, workshops for the repair of heavy equipment and vehicles, warehouses, and parking facilities were also built.

JORNAL DE ANGOLA has also learned that through the Airport and Highways Enterprise (Aerovia), it has been possible to build a 1,200-square-meter dirt runway at the hydroelectric complex. Also, an asphalted helipad of 40 square meters has been provided.

Aerovia also built some of the access routes to the pressurized conduits at the Lomaum hydroelectric complex.

Madagascar

Constitution Approved; Referendum Results Released

*EA1509112592 Antananarivo Radio Madagascar
Network in Malagasy 1600 GMT 12 Sep 92*

[Excerpts] Twenty-four days after the holding of the referendum, the official results were announced today at an important judicial ceremony presided over by the president of the High Constitutional Court [HCC]. It was announced during the judicial ceremony that the Malagasy people approved the Constitution of the Third Republic with 2,330,641 votes. The no votes were only 875,485 out of 3,206,126 valid votes.

Mr. Guy Willy Razanamasy, prime minister and head of the government, the two chairmen of the Social and Economic Recovery Committee, and representatives of the president of the Republic and the chairman of the High State Authority as well as various officials from the transition authorities and diplomatic bodies attended the ceremony.

The president of the HCC, Norbert Ratsirahonana, said that in spite of irregularities at some polling stations, the HCC was able to issue a ruling because differences between the yes and no votes were obviously in favor of

the approval of the new Constitution. Following is the ruling announced by HCC President Norbert Ratsirahonana:

[Begin recording] The high constitutional court rules as follows:

Article 1: As a result of monitoring operations aimed at ensuring that elections took place properly, voting in 274 polling stations is declared null and void. An annex is attached to the present ruling. [passage omitted]

Article 2: As a result of the same monitoring operations, voting by 177,098 voters is declared null and void.

Article 3: It has been proved that no voting took place at some polling stations due to the above mentioned reasons.

Article 4: The results of the 19 August referendum are now going to be announced officially. [passage omitted]

The results are as follows: Registered voters, 5,467,031; voters, 3,554,596; blank votes, 348,470; valid votes, 3,206,126; yes votes, 2,330,641; no votes, 875,485.

Article 5: The Constitution of the Third Republic is thus approved by the people.

Article 6: The present ruling is to be gazetted. [end recording]

Mozambique

* Reconstruction Program for Maputo Detailed

92AF1199A *Maputo DOMINGO in Portuguese*
26 Jul 92 pp 10-11

[Article by Pedro Lambe: "The First Reconstruction Concepts"]

[Text] In accordance with the "National Reconstruction Plan—A Guideline Document," which was announced at the seminar on this subject held last May, a Technical Reconstruction Office (GTR) has just been established in the province of Maputo.

At the meeting, the guidelines for the drafting of the plan were analyzed and discussed, and a methodological summary was developed to support and direct the provinces in the drafting of their respective national reconstruction programs.

The state of war in which we have been living, with the resulting destruction of the economic and social infrastructures, has made it impossible to utilize the productive potential and has led to massive population migrations both within our national territory and to neighboring countries.

Consistent with this reality, some doubts exist, naturally, about the viability of establishing an office of this nature in a country still in the midst of war.

Julio Mioche, who heads the Maputo Technical Office, explained to DOMINGO that the philosophy of the program calls for preparing the ground, carrying out a survey, and assessing the damage caused by the war, with a view toward implementing concrete actions once peace has been reestablished.

It is with this in mind that the provincial structures must look ahead to what will later be done within the context of the emerging situation.

That being the case, the province's Technical Reconstruction Office will reformulate its plan of action as a component of the overall national program.

The immediate task ahead is the coordination of the activities related to this reorganization, which, after approval by the provincial government, will be submitted to the central structures.

The current prospects for the signing of a cease-fire agreement justify the expectation that the economic and social life of the country will be normalized.

The extent of this normalization will depend on domestic factors, but also on the aid the international community provides. The National Reconstruction Program is therefore divided into two phases, according to Julio Mioche. One will cover the resettlement of the people, and the other will cover the actual process of rehabilitation or reconstruction.

The essential purpose of the first phase will be to resettle and reintegrate the displaced persons, refugees, and demobilized soldiers in production and society. To this end, priority will be given to the zones of origin of the individuals involved, if that is their desire, and an effort will be made to establish social stability in the rural sector by sponsoring the reactivation and expansion of productive activities.

This effort will relieve the overcrowding in the urban centers, will lower the unemployment rate, and will help to alleviate the extent of poverty and social exclusion.

On the other hand, an atmosphere favoring the expansion of economic activities will be created in order to improve the conditions of life for the people and to reduce the dependence on foreign countries.

The conception and execution of this resettlement policy will have to come from the provinces, above all. It therefore becomes necessary to undertake the institutional and technical training of the provincial departments in a determined fashion, so that the mechanisms that will later bring about the efficient decentralization of economic management can be created.

Donors' Conference

The commitment of the government to resolving the problems created by a situation of peace led to the creation of the Commission for the Drafting and Coordination of the National Reconstruction Plan and the

Staffing and Rehabilitation of the Population. It was established by Presidential Decree No. 20/21, dated February 1991.

This project now has the support of the European Economic Community (EEC), which has agreed to organize a donors' conference shortly after the signing of the cease-fire. At this conference, the government will present its plan for national reconstruction with a view to obtaining the funds needed to finance it.

Once safe conditions have been reestablished, it is expected that in addition to resettling the displaced persons (about 5 million), the refugees (1 million), and the demobilized soldiers (between 120,000 and 150,000), national reconstruction will be linked with the Emergency Program and with Economic and Social Rehabilitation (PRES). It is believed that in the long run, this will make it possible to implement a concrete strategy for economic and social development under the normalized conditions of life.

There is an understanding that at the current stage of national development, the greatest potential lies in the farm sector, so the first goal will be to achieve and ensure self-sufficiency for the people.

Within this context, the National Reconstruction Plan should be viewed as a response to the specific needs in a given stage of transition, in which the economy will cease to be governed by the requirements of the emergency and rehabilitation and will move into the reconstruction and development phase.

According to our source, the first stage of the reconstruction we have been discussing is urgently needed and should be implemented immediately following the cease-fire.

The second stage, for its part, will only be executed after stable conditions have been created as a result of the preceding stage, including the drafting and implementation of plans integrated on the national and provincial levels. This second stage will be viewed in terms of the plans for major national developmental projects.

The development options for the midterm will be defined with a view toward drafting a strategy of economic integration for the country within the context of southern Africa. The problems in the international division of labor, the definition of the national options on the sectorial and regional level, etc., will be taken into account.

It is believed that in a planning process like that which is to be launched, the definition of the role of the state, as well as those of the other participants, is fundamental.

At this time, the country is considered one of the poorest in the world, and according to the poverty estimates drafted in 1988, about 60 percent of the population of Mozambique is undernourished.

Thus the problem to be dealt with is how to define the method for the allocation of goods and assets expected in this first stage of national reconstruction.

The mechanisms to be utilized in this stage do not call for donated means of production, but rather that they be supplied on the basis of contracts with the state. In this process, an individual will promise to pay a certain amount in kind or in money until the asset is entirely amortized.

Given the situation in which the population finds itself, these payments will have to be minimal, but the goal is to make the owners responsible for the proper use and protection of the assets allocated to them.

The actions of the state should be oriented toward guiding the people indirectly, through incentives and the allocation of facilities, toward the solutions that seem most desirable from the social point of view.

Devastated Infrastructures

Although there are no current figures on the infrastructures destroyed by the war in the Province of Maputo, the damage is believed to be substantial in qualitative terms.

Julio Mioche emphasized that the Technical Reconstruction Office will undertake a survey to establish the extent of the infrastructures destroyed by Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance].

In this connection, it is known that a large part of the trade network is operating inefficiently, because it was always a priority target of Renamo. In the interior of the province, the stores have been, for all practical purposes, destroyed or plundered.

Health units, too, were or still are being attacked, although in some cases the process of reconstruction has been undertaken in order to provide health care to the people.

Major damage was also done to the education network. Some schools were abandoned because of the unstable situation created by the war in the rural sector, so that many children had to pursue their studies outdoors in the localities where the people sought refuge.

The water sources, that is to say, the wells and water holes, in the zones that have currently been cleared are damaged. Thus, when resettlement is implemented, one priority will be to establish the minimal facilities, in terms of basic infrastructure. These facilities include, for example, shops, health centers, schools, and roads to enable merchants to transport supplies to the settlements.

In the first phase, families will need food until they can produce a harvest. They will also need construction materials, labor tools, and seeds, as well as land to cultivate.

Earlier, in 1988, the Maputo Provincial Government drafted a plan for resettling the population. However, the situation developed in a way that prevented any immediate and effective implementation.

As a result of the events that occurred, the people continued to flee to safer localities in a migration that was difficult to control. During this period, centers were established for the resettlement of the expatriates who were forced out of South Africa. One was Massaca II, in the Boane District; another was in Magude. There was also a reception center in Ressano Garcia. During that period, these repatriated individuals, who returned stripped of all of the assets they had had, were given great support.

It is known that 29 resettlement locations had been defined in the province, not counting the displaced persons in the City of Maputo. At that time, there were 40,000 such individuals living in the capital of the country. It is presumed that this figure grew as Renamo's activities intensified at various points in the province.

Many other people displaced by the war have been billeted in towns and at some administrative stations under inadequate conditions. They lack land on which they can produce and jobs and water sources. And the educational facilities are not equipped to enroll large numbers of students.

The program drafted in 1988 is still being implemented, but it will now be integrated within the National Reconstruction Plan as soon as the necessary conditions have been established.

At a given point in our interview, Julio Mioche mentioned the fact that the seven districts, 42 administrative posts, and 76 localities that make up the province are, for all practical purposes, depopulated. This is above all because of the war, as well as the further aggravation of the prolonged drought.

In all probability, once peace is established, the people will attempt to return to the sites of their traditional and cultural values. We are certain of this because in the localities where they are presently located, the people lack all of the necessary conditions of life. One example is the administrative post in Xinavane, where because of the drought, the people have just finished building housing in the riverbed itself.

If the rains should come, this would be another catastrophe. One can readily conclude at the outset that the people who are living there are doing so because they have no other option. This is another factor that will ensure that the people will want to return to their zones of origin—but in an organized fashion. One of the activities of the office is precisely to plan for and to coordinate this task.

In the course of its work, the Technical Reconstruction Office will be involved with other activities, because

when all is said and done, national reconstruction will cover all the sectors of economic and social life in the country.

It should be noted that this body was established by the provincial government during a June session. It was approved in July at a ceremony at which Raimundo Bila, the governor of the province, presided.

The head of the Technical Office will coordinate all of the activities pertaining to matters of technical orientation. He will report to the president, in this case the governor, who will have the authority to make political decisions about the proposals drafted by the Technical Reconstruction Office.

Seminar on Reconstruction

One of the first actions undertaken by this body was the holding of a National Reconstruction Seminar. It took place on 15 and 16 July of this year.

The purpose of this seminar was to distribute the basic materials that will support this entire reconstruction process as far as the drafting of the activity plans is concerned.

Also, the guideline document, the methodology, and the essential tools and technicians were studied with a view toward appointing and training the personnel who will be directly involved in all the national reconstruction activities in an atmosphere of national harmony characterized by minimal conflict and enduring peace.

It was for this reason that the head of the office, in his addresss at the seminar's concluding session, appealed to the participants for continued study of these documents. He asked them to pass them on to all of the sectors of society and the people so that they can play an important role in this process.

DOMINGO interviewed three of the seminar participants. All of them said that the time is right for undertaking a survey. The argument they gave us for holding this belief is that if it were decided to wait until a cease-fire agreement is signed before starting the survey, it would be too late.

They are aware that the talks in Rome are proceeding slowly, but they believe that the goal is to achieve the reestablishment of peace in Mozambique.

Aurelio Magaia, the district director of construction and water resources in Namaacha, believes that the establishment of the GTR is timely, because the assessment of and planning for the future must be done now.

He said that national reconstruction will be a phase in which the real capacity of each leader will be demonstrated. At the present time, the war is being blamed, even to justify apathy and incompetence in the implementation of certain actions.

This source admitted, however, that rebuilding the country, in which the destruction of infrastructures has been tremendous, will be a difficult task. Reconstruction will not be left entirely to the state. Use will be made of the resources that are locally available, consistent with the capacity of each district.

In the specific case of the District of Namaacha, the priority will be the repair of access roads and the reestablishment of the water sources needed in order to supply the people.

Amancio Francisco Chilengue, the official in charge of transportation and communications in Magude, thinks that the Technical Reconstruction Office was established at exactly the right time. If a cease-fire should be signed, the people will begin to return to their places of origin in disorganized fashion.

They must be supplied with food, because they do not have enough to survive, as well as with seeds and the means of production.

He points out that the seminar on reconstruction provided the participants with a firm foundation for drafting the general guidelines needed on the basis of the real situation in the rural sector.

He added that the people in Magude, who fled from Maputo, are experiencing a critical situation, because they are accustomed to life in the rural sector, where not everything is obtained by making purchases.

With the war ended, he emphasized, the displaced persons will return to find Magude at the zero point. Because of this, it will be necessary to supply them with production factors for a certain part of the resettlement phase until they can become independent. How long this will be necessary will be dictated, above all, by when the weather conditions allow the normalization of life for the people.

Chilengue said that this will be a difficult and burdensome task. "For me, this seminar pointed the way to what we can do with regard to staffing the people, although this will not be compulsory."

In the opinion of Jeronimo Libulane Mateus, the deputy administrator in Marracuene, this planning stage is important in terms of creating the proper conditions in the field, so that there can be a positive response to the resettlement process.

The deputy administrator in Marracuene expressed the view that security problems still exist in that part of the province. He said that the enemy incursions originate at the administrative post in Machubo, on the frontier with Calanga.

These actions have brought farming activity to a total halt, and the theft of cattle is a routine occurrence. This is an administrative post in an essentially agricultural area in which the people can obtain substantial production during the rainy season.

In zones where farming is the principal activity, the peasants are organizing in associations, but because of the situation, the yields are very low. They go to their collective farms late and leave early, fearful of being assassinated or kidnapped by the enemy.

According to our source, the first task to be carried out when peace comes will be the resettlement of individuals along National Highway No. 1. We talked with some of the displaced persons from Marracuene, who are living in various parts of the City of Maputo. They indicated their desire to return to their own district to resume their agricultural activities now that the war has ended.

Namibia

Agreement 'In Principle' on Walvis Bay Elections

MB1509152092 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1315 GMT 15 Sep 92

[Text] Windhoek Sept 15 SAPA—South Africa has agreed in principle to allow Namibia to conduct regional council elections in Walvis Bay and an agreement is due to be signed shortly, an election official said on Tuesday [15 September].

"But for the registration process to start in Walvis Bay, it has been agreed that that process has to await signing of an agreement," Elections Directorate Information Officer Vitura Kavari said.

He told a media briefing in Windhoek logistical, technical and administrative demands had caused election officials to recommend voter registration be postponed until September 21, instead of September 16.

About 700,000 Namibians are due to go to the polls from November 30 to December 3 to elect local authorities and regional councils.

The country has been divided into 13 regions with 95 constituencies. Each region has between six and 10 constituencies.

One provision of the Electoral Act is that in village councils and municipalities with 10 members, each party list must contain at least two women. Larger bodies must list at least three.

The local authorities will be elected by proportional representation, while candidates to the regional council must obtain a simple majority.

Two candidates from each regional council will be nominated to sit in the National Council, Namibia's second parliamentary chamber.

Zambia**Mandela Reaffirms Stand on Nationalization**

MB1509200292 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 15 Sep 92

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela has reaffirmed his organization's stand for nationalization of the South African economy as the only way of addressing the present economic imbalance in that country. Mr. Mandela, speaking in an interview with ZNBC [Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation] at State House today, said although nationalization is unpopular, it was to some extent inevitable, considering South Africa's economic background where the minority whites own 98 percent of the country's resources. He said there is need for government to exert some influence on the economy of that country in order to include 85 percent of the population who are [words indistinct] excluded. Mr. Mandela has indicated that he wants democracy talks to resume because he fears irreparable damage to the country's [words indistinct] economy if violence and political [words indistinct]

continue indefinitely. In remarks published in Johannesburg today, the ANC leader says he fears the possibility of a social revolution if the post-apartheid economy is unable to satisfy the expectations of black [words indistinct] for better living standards.

Britain To Maintain Freeze on Aid to Malawi

MB1509200792 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 15 Sep 92

[From the "African News" program]

[Text] Britain has said it will maintain its freeze on development aid to Malawi until the government begins democratic reform. Speaking in Zambia, the British overseas development minister, Lynda Chalker, said a great deal of change was needed in Malawi before development aid could be resumed. But she said that donor countries would continue with humanitarian aid, along with help for more than one million Mozambican refugees there. Western donor countries suspended development aid to Malawi in May because of the government's human rights record.

Liberia

NPFL Denies ULIMO Claim of Camp Capture

AB1509143092 Paris AFP in English 1255 GMT
15 Sep 92

[Text] Monrovia, Sept 15 (AFP)—Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) Tuesday denied claims by rival United Liberation Movement for Democracy (ULIMO) that it had captured the Todee military camp. NPFL Harbel radio dismissed the claim, describing it as "propaganda."

ULIMO military commander David Roosevelt Johnson told a press conference here Sunday [13 September] that his forces last week captured the NPFL military garrison some 35 miles (22 kilometres) north of Monrovia. The radio, quoting an official statement, said over 100 NPFL soldiers along with several hundred displaced people from western Grand Cape Mount and Bomi Counties are still in camp Todee "under the control of the NPFL." The NPFL statement called on citizens and foreigners in NPFL-controlled areas "to go about their normal business."

The radio Sunday quoted Taylor as saying a plan for a new offensive was under way to recapture Bomi and Grand Cape Mount Counties and part of lower Lofa County from ULIMO, which launched an offensive in July.

ULIMO, based in exile in neighbouring Sierra Leone, has brought a new twist to Liberia's brutal civil war, which began in December 1989, by asserting that it has no interest in power but wishes to force Taylor to comply with a West African peace plan for the country.

Taylor on ECOMOG, 'Enemies,' Internal Power

AB1609060092 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1230 GMT 15 Sep 92

[Report on telephone interview with National Patriotic Front of Liberia, NPFL, leader Charles Taylor by reporters Yves-Roger Imwanambati and Jean-Valere Mbinamanza; date, place not given; passages in quotation marks recorded]

[Text] Our Newsdesk has just had on the line the leader of the Liberian rebellion, Charles Taylor, to speak about the last developments of the situation in his country. After his recent meeting with former American President Jimmy Carter, Charles Taylor, as you know, agreed to release the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group [ECOMOG] troops his men had rounded up in Buchanan, 90 km from Monrovia. Charles Taylor, as you will hear soon, was answering questions from Yves-Roger Imwanambati and Jean-Valere Mbinamanza. He stressed that the obstacle to peace in Liberia stems from the partial role played by a certain number of countries whose names he mentioned:

[Taylor] "The problem here is that Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Nigeria are helping the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia [ULIMO]. That is the problem. I have already urged President Carter to ask the United Nations if 20 or 25 people can be sent here to work together with the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] forces because my men and I are currently faced with problems of security in the implementation of the disarming and encampment agreement."

According to Charles Taylor, it is Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Nigeria that are supporting ULIMO. Our radio therefore asked him if he did not seize the weapons of the ECOMOG soldiers to prepare for a new fight with ULIMO which had declared its intention to destroy the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL].

[Taylor] "It is not a new fight. The fight is still continuing, but I have not seized weapons from the ECOWAS troops. [words indistinct] I cannot disarm my elements as long as ULIMO forces have their own [words indistinct]. No, that is not fair. [words indistinct]"

As we also know, Charles is being accused of wanting to impose himself through the weapons and this is the reason why he is making every effort to strengthen his military arsenal. Listen to his answer:

[Taylor] "The weapons that I lost are in the possession of ECOMOG because ECOMOG and ULIMO are the same. There is no difference. ECOMOG and ULIMO form one force together."

Concerning the search for peace in Liberia, Charles Taylor admitted that important decisions were made. But, as you will hear him say soon, he paid a particular tribute to Ivorian President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

[Taylor] "President Houphouet is a peace-loving man. Now, the Liberian problem is very simple. Nigerians do not want peace in Liberia. They want to dominate the whole region. That is why Nigeria does not want to withdraw its 6,000 soldiers from here. It can never dominate this region. Peace in Liberia must be made by Liberians. It is necessary for them to hold discussions together. But Nigerians cannot make peace for Liberians—that is the problem."

[Reporter] "Your relations with Interim President Professor Amos Sawyer are not very good. What really are the differences between the NPFL and the interim government of Prof. Amos Sawyer?"

[Taylor] "I have no problem with Sawyer. It was Nigeria and The Gambia which sent Sawyer here. Liberians do not want Sawyer here. Nigerians have no right to create a government for Liberians here. It is Liberians themselves who must form their own government."

[Reporter] "Do you not have problems of authority within the NPFL? It appears that your authority is currently contested."

[Taylor] "No, never! Never! You can send a journalist here to investigate. This is never the case, I swear! No, no, no. I have no authority problem here. My government has worked for the people. All the schools have reopened. We have hospitals. I have done everything for the Liberian people. There is no problem here. Our problem is an external one with Sierra Leone, Guinea, Nigeria, The Gambia, and so on. If this problem is solved, there will be peace in Liberia. That is certain."

Togo

Prime Minister Koffigoh on Role of New Cabinet

AB1609100592 Lome Radio Lome in French
0600 GMT 15 Sep 92

[Text] Last night, the prime minister held a live radio and television interview to provide explanations on the formation of his Cabinet. He spoke about the difficulties he came across, the interpretation made by the various parties and shades of opinion of the appointments, the agreements reached by the joint commission, the claims made by certain parties as well as reticence expressed by others. After calling on everyone to contribute to the success of the mission of this third transition Cabinet, the prime minister made it a point to explain to the nation how the new Cabinet will operate:

[Begin recording] [Koffigoh] The various shades of opinion or the various....[pauses] They are only lending the names of their personalities to the head of government, so to speak. That does not mean that a minister, when appointed to the government, should promote the policy of his political party. A minister can promote his party's policies only when his party finally wins the elections, because once his political party wins the elections, that would mean that his party's policy has been approved by the nation. It is only then that a minister would carry out his party's policy exclusively and this in accordance with the wishes of the people.

But during a transition period, we need to bring all our energy together or rather pool all our energy. We do not need a kind of melting pot because it would be unhealthy to have that at this moment. We rather need to pool all our energy. By demonstrating solidarity among Cabinet members and by acknowledging that Togo is one state, we should be able to make the ministers, under the supervision of the head of government, develop the policies that are in the interest of the nation. Any minister who will come and develop the policy of a clan or the policy of a community or that of a political faction, is deemed to fail. In any case, every minister is accountable to the prime minister for all his activities. In addition, we should be aware of the fact that we are in a true democratic period—or at least we are trying to build up a democratic process—and that we have a free press which operates freely. We should not lose sight of the fact that the international community also serves as a

means of communication. So, I must say that we must not start this transitional phase by entertaining presumptions about another.

We have three and a half months to complete our work, to prepare for the elections, and to contribute to the democratic process. I believe that this new sacrifice is worth it. A new hope is rising within the people and this the most important thing for me. The rest is without interest to me.

[Unidentified reporter] Your priority is a tough one. Concretely, how are you going to meet the electoral timetable that has been set? Will the referendum still take place on 27 September?

[Koffigoh] Everyone is committed to meeting the electoral timetable. The role of the new Cabinet will consist in meeting this commitment. [end recording]

HCR Chairman, UFC's Olympio on New Cabinet

AB1609103992 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1230 GMT 15 Sep 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Six political parties are represented within the new Togolese Cabinet which was boycotted by Gilchrist Olympio's Union of Forces for Change [UFC]. This radical opposition party has accused the High Council of the Republic [HCR] of not respecting the spirit of the joint commission. The HCR deputy chairman, Francis Ekon, replied that the appointment of ministers to the posts that they will hold in the third transitional government was done according to the democratic game:

[Begin recording] The HCR members made a very democratic decision. They deliberated for more than six hours examining every aspect of our country's political situation, and with 36 members in favor, 24 against, and one abstention, the HCR approved the composition of the government. Since we are practicing democracy, we are also forced to learn to accept the consequences of democracy and to respect the opinion of the majority. That is what took place. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

As you were told, Gilchrist Olympio's UFC is not taking part in the third Togolese transitional government. The leader of the Togolese opposition says nothing can be expected of such a government in which members of the former single ruling party are holding the key posts. According to Gilchrist Olympio, the new government does not present any guarantees for openness. Let us listen to him. He was interviewed by Robert Minangoua:

[Begin recording] [Olympio] We drafted a communiqué which was issued two days ago. It warned that the UFC and other parties like the Democratic Convention of African Peoples and the Party for Democracy and Renewal would not participate in the government if the prime minister took it upon himself to entrust the key posts to the former single ruling party of the president of

the Republic. I think our position was approved by 24 other parties which met in Lome. Consequently, what is now called the victory of the government within the HCR is an aberration because the parties did not vote for the government. It was the associations and the corporation in Parliament which voted. We are waiting to see how the government is going to function without the country's political class.

[Minangoua] Do you think, today, that President Eyadema has finally won and that he has succeeded in maintaining his power?

[Olympio] No, that would be going too far. In any case, President Eyadema has never given up. The soldiers are always in the streets and the shootings, killings, political assassinations, plastic bomb attacks on houses, and so on, are still going on. What is more serious now is that he is trying to lay a legal basis for crime. This is what we refuse to accept. That is why we refused to take part in this government which has given too much power to the former single ruling party and enabled it at the same time to control a larger part of the administration. It makes the openness of the elections and the referendum difficult to conceive.

[Minangoua] Will you take part in the elections?

[Olympio] As a party, yes, if the conditions are met. But like we have said, in the present conditions, it would be difficult to conceive how openness can practiced. For a true democracy, there must be open elections. I am therefore afraid that openness is something that will not be present in the referendum and elections in Togo. But this does not mean that we have given up. On the contrary, we are only beginning. The battle has just begun for the holding of elections and the return of democracy to our country. [end recording]

Correction to Reasons for Delay in New Cabinet
AB1509124092

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Radio on Delay in New Cabinet," published in the 14 September Sub-Saharan Africa DAILY REPORT, pages 37-38:

Page 38, column one, first paragraph, last sentence, make read ...concern the ministries in charge of national sovereignty, which the... (rewording for clarity);

Second paragraph, last sentence, make read ...into account the criteria for sharing posts among the major ... (rewording for clarity).

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